Quantitative approaches to problems in linguistics

Studies in honour of Phil Rose

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‘Humble auxiliaries’ in Old Japanese: Javanese derivations, context, and significance*

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This paper follows on an earlier paper (Kumar and Rose 2000) in which forty-one pairs of words with CVCVCC structure from Old Japanese and Old Javanese were compared, resulting in the first schedule of replicable segmental correspondences between Old Japanese and any putatively related language. Phonological correspondences mapped unidirectionally from Old Javanese to Old Japanese. The semantic fields represented corresponded to innovations introduced in the Yayoi period. The present paper moves on from borrowing of lexicon to morphosyntactic aspects of the contact, beginning with a preliminary study of the Old Japanese ‘humble auxiliaries’ and their Old Javanese derivations. It also provides the historical context of this linguistic contact.

1. Introduction

Kumar and Rose (2000) demonstrated that an antecedent of Old Javanese had made a lexical contribution to an antecedent of Old Japanese. This Javanese contribution to Japanese covers a significant number of semantic fields. Apart from general vocabulary (words such as to pour, to cover, and to grow/increase – as well as words expressing more abstract concepts such as time, manner and likelihood) a significant number of words were found to cluster in particular semantic fields. One such semantic field relates to land clearing and rice cultivation and preparation, with words for rice field, open field, rice mortar, boundary of field, and cooked rice. Other semantic fields relate to metallurgy (including weaponry), cloth weaving, storehouses and fences, as well as to less tangible innovations such as a kinship system, the idea of leadership, and a complex of religious beliefs that would form the basis of Shintō. The semantic fields taken together show a striking agreement with the already-known major innovations of the Yayoi period. During this period (once dated 200 BCE – 200 CE, now generally dated as 300 BCE – 300 CE with some authors putting its inception as early as 500 BCE), an advanced metal-working civilization was introduced into Japan, which up until then had been a hunter-gatherer society, conventionally designated the Jōmon period. The semantic fields found in the Javanese loanwords indicate that the Javanese influence originated from an élite: a culturally, politically, and perhaps most significantly of all technologically advanced group that introduced rice agriculture, new technologies in pottery, metalwork and

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architecture, new art forms, a new hierarchical social structure culminating in the Emperor, and a new religion.

Shibatani rightly criticised *all* the numerous theories claiming a relationship between Japanese and another language or language family on the grounds of the inability of any of the proponents to provide *recurrent sound correspondences* between the two languages/families (Shibatani 1990:112–17). Kumar and Rose (2000) produced the first schedule of replicable segmental correspondences between Japanese and any other language, prior to the influence of Chinese in historical times. They limited the sample to five-segment words and employed rigorous statistical testing. The correspondences are given below in table 1 and 2 (for a complete treatment of these sound shifts and their environments, see Kumar and Rose (2000: 228, 230–2, 234).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Old Javanese-Old Japanese</th>
<th>Consonant sound correspondences</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Old Javanese</strong></td>
<td><strong>Old Japanese</strong></td>
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<td>Ø</td>
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<td></td>
<td>w ~ p</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Table 1.** Sound correspondences in primary and secondary data between Old Javanese and Old Japanese consonants.
Old Javanese-Old Japanese
Vowel correspondences

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Old Javanese</th>
<th>Old Japanese</th>
<th>Environment</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>i</td>
<td>ï ~ e₂ ~ a</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a</td>
<td>a</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>o</td>
<td>o ~ o₂ ~ u</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>u</td>
<td>o</td>
<td>/ w</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>u ~ o</td>
<td>/ elsewhere</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ê</td>
<td>e</td>
<td>/ _bilabial C</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a ~ u</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 2. Sound correspondences in primary and secondary data between Old Javanese (OJAV) and Old Japanese (OJAP) vowels.

After the publication of Kumar and Rose (2000), more DNA evidence appeared – notably the Tanaka study of the whole Japanese mitochondrial genome (Tanaka et al. 2004). This confirmed the earlier finding of Kumar (1998) that Japanese and Indonesians share some mitochondrial DNA (in this case, d-loops) that is not found in any other population. Tanaka et al. found that this came about ‘recently’, i.e. in late prehistoric times, rather than in early prehistory. This evidence of maternal DNA in the Kumar (1998) and Tanaka et al. (2004) studies shows that Indonesian women as well as men were part of this migration. The actual percentage of the Indonesian component of the Japanese population is small, but significantly larger than, say, the percentage of Norman French migrants in the British population (Kumar 2009:163).

2. From lexicon to morphosyntax

Though some more vocabulary has been discovered since Kumar and Rose (2000), it seems more important now to make a start on the issue of morphosyntactic influence. One of the most salient aspects of the Javanese influence is the grammaticalization of Javanese lexemes in the development of the Old Japanese auxiliary verbs. The following is a preliminary examination of this area: I regret that the short time-frame available precluded the collection of a larger corpus of Old Javanese examples and a more thorough analysis.

2.1 Humble auxiliaries in Old Japanese

There are a total of six humble auxiliaries in Western Old Japanese: matur-, tatematur-, tamapey-, tamapar- ~ tanpar-, mawos-, and mawi-. None of them have cognates in other Japonic languages, except for a possible Old Ryukyuan one for mawi (see below p. 257) nor do they have cognates in Korean or in any Ural-Altaic languages. I provide below Old Javanese derivations for all six humble auxiliaries.
### Table 3. The six Old Japanese humble auxiliaries and their derivations.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Old Japanese humble auxiliary</th>
<th>Old Japanese independent verb: meaning</th>
<th>Old Javanese verb</th>
<th>Old Javanese verb: meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>matur-</td>
<td>present, offer</td>
<td>matur</td>
<td>present, offer, report</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tatematur-</td>
<td>present, offer</td>
<td>matur</td>
<td>present, offer, report</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mawos-</td>
<td>say, report</td>
<td>mawuwus</td>
<td>say, speak</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tamapar/-taNpar-</td>
<td>receive</td>
<td>tampa</td>
<td>receive, accept, carry</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tamapey-</td>
<td>receive, drink</td>
<td>tumampe</td>
<td>receive, come down on</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mawi-</td>
<td>come, bring</td>
<td>mawi</td>
<td>bring, come</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### 2.2 Humble auxiliary: matur-

*Matur* seems to have been appropriated by the ancient Japanese as the central concept in the new hierarchical system. Its centrality in religion and government is expressed in the concepts *maturi* (worship) and *maturigoto* (government). *Matur* was also pressed into service in the grammar as an auxiliary verb – both as a humble auxiliary and as a honorific auxiliary (the latter not discussed here; see Bentley 2001:213–4).

#### 2.2.1 The Western Old Japanese humble auxiliary.

The humble auxiliary *matur-* almost always follows the infinitive of the main verb. In most cases it is found after the verb *tukapey-* ‘to serve.’ Vovin (2009:1032–5) gives the following examples (note that upper case letters in the second line represent the semantographic spelling, lower case letters the phonetic spelling):¹

1. 都加倍麻都良牟大宮所
   *tukapey-matur-am-u* OPO MYIYA-N-TÔKÔRÔ
   serve(INF)-HUM-TENT-ATTR great palace-GEN-place
   ‘the great palace that [I] will [always] serve.’ (MYS XVII:3908)

2. 都可倍麻都良米伊夜等保奈我尔
   *tukapey-matur-am-ey* iya tõpo naNka n-i
   serve(INF)-HUM-TENT-EV plentifully long long DV:INF
   ‘[I] will serve [you] plentifully and for a long, long time.’ (MYS XVIII:4098)

3. 奉仕之米天志可等保之米之天
   *TUKAPEY-MATUR-Asimey-te-si* ka tõ OMO-p-os-i-meys-i-te
   serve(INF)-HUM-CAUS(INF)-PERF(INF)-PAST/ATTR PT DV think-HON-INF-HON-INF-SUB
   [Dôkyô] thought: “[I] want to make [them] serve”.’ (SM 36)

¹ The following abbreviations are used in the Old Japanese examples: ABL ablative, ACC accusative, ATTR attributive, CAUS causative, DAT dative, FIN final verbal form, GEN genitive, HUM humble, INF infinitive, LOC locative, PERF perfective, PROG progressive, SUB subordinative gerund, TENT tentative.
2.2.2 Matur- the Western Old Japanese independent verb.
This has the meaning ‘to present or offer (to a superior)’ as in the following examples (Vovin 2009:1035):

(4) 可未尔奴佐麻都利伊能里麻乎之弓
kamiy-ni nusa matur-i inōr-i-mawos-i-te
deity-DAT nusa present(HUM)-INF pray-INF-HUM-INF-SUB
‘presenting nusa offerings and praying to the deity.’ (MYS XX:4408)

(5) 和己於保支美波多比良気久那何久伊末之弓等与美岐麻那流
wa-Nkō obo kiyomi pa tapyirake-yu naNka-ku imas-i-te tōyō myi-kyi matur-u
I-POSS great lord TOP safe-INF long-INF exist(HON)-INF-SUB abundant HON-rice.wine
present(HUM)-FIN
‘[I] present the abundant rice wine so that my sovereign (lit.: great lord) [would] live safely and long.’ (SNK 4)

2.2.3 Eastern Old Japanese
The humble verb *matur-* occurs in Eastern Old Japanese – of which only 191 songs are extant2 – once as an auxiliary and once as an independent verb (Vovin 2009:1036). An example of the humble auxiliary is given below in (6).

(6) 都久之聞聞敵女加流布称乃伊都之加毛都加敬麻都里弓久爾爾聞単可毛
tukusi-pey-ni pye muk-ar-u pune-nō itu si kamwo tukayye-matur-i-te kuni-ni pey
muk-am-wo
Tukusi-side-LOC bow turn-PROG-ATTR boat-GEN when PT PT serve(INF)-HUM-INF-SUB
province-LOC bow turn-TENT-ATTR
‘I wonder when the boat which is [now] turning [its] bow towards Tukusi will turn its bow towards [my home] province, after [I finish to] serve.’ (MYS XX:4359)

In independent usage EOJ matur- means ‘to present (to a deity)’, as in the following:

(7) 夜之里乃加美尔奴佐麻都理
yasirō-nō kamyi-ni nusa matur-i
shrine-GEN deity-DAT nusa present(HUM)-INF
‘presenting the nusa offering to the deities.’ (MYS XX:4391)

2 The language of the overwhelming majority of Old Japanese sources is that of the capital Nara, and surrounding area. However, some sources reflect dialects from eastern Japan, usually collectively referred to as Eastern Old Japanese. Volume 14 of the Man'yōshū consists of 230 azuma uta ‘eastern songs/poems’. Volume 20 includes 93 sakimori uta ‘boderguard songs’, composed by soldiers from the east, mostly serving on guard duty in Kyushu. Finally, the Hitachi fudoki includes 9 songs in Eastern Old Japanese. This material, usually recorded by Nara scribes, does not reflect a single dialect, but at least three main areas, the southern, the central and the northern dialect areas which differ appreciably, with the southern being the least and the northern the most different from the central Old Japanese dialect of the capital area (Freelsoy 2010:151).
2.2.4 Matur-: the Old Javanese verb.
Zoetmulder (1982:602–4) has an extensive entry on the very productive verb *(h)atur* and its numerous verbal and nominal forms, produced by affixation, among them *matur*. The initial *m* is most likely the contracted form of the prefix *um-*. The form *matur* is found in both Old Javanese and Old Japanese. These are the forms listed by Zoetmulder:

i. *hatur, atur* (substantive): appearing in the presence of; that which is respectfully told (reported) when appearing before a person of high rank

ii. *hatur-hatur, atur-atur*: that which is respectfully presented or offered

iii. *makātur-atur*: as a present or offering

iv. *ahatur, atur*: to present, to offer

v. *mahatur-hatur, atur-atur*: to appear in the presence of a person of high rank with presents or offerings

vi. *humatur, (u)matur*: to appear in the presence of a person of high rank

vii. *(u)matur, pamatur(a)* (imperative): to tell (report) to a person of high rank

viii. *anghaturi, angaturi, hinaturan, ingaturan*: 1. to present or offer (something) to, set ready for; 2. to tell, report (something) respectfully to; to ask or invite someone respectfully (to do something)

ix. *ingatur-aturan* (passive): to bring presents or offerings (*atur-atur*) to someone

x. *humaturakēn, angaturakēn, hinaturakēn*: to bring something into the presence of a person of high rank, to present, offer

xi. *kahatur, katur* (ka-passive to *anghaturakēn*): presented, offered, set ready

xii. *pangatur*: present, offering

The following examples of *matur* and *umatur* illustrate the hierarchical aspect of these verbs, which pertain to presenting something to, reporting to, or appearing in the presence of, someone of high rank. They are used in such situations as a king offering his kingdoms to a superior power, or people reporting to high religious functionaries.

(8) *subhaktya matur ng swarāya mangaran ri Lēngkapura*:
With great devotion I **offer** my own kingdom called *Lēngkapura* (AWJ: Zoetmulder 1982:604).

(9) *marēk humaturakēn* [transitive form] *ulih nirapikat*:
He approached and **presented** what he had obtained in his trap

(10) *matur awotsari ri sang mahamumi sareh ira twan mantri*:
[unspecified subject] **reported** with a *sēmbah* [bow of obeisance] to the chief *muni* [sage, ascetic] all about the *mantri* [minister, counsellor] (KHWJ: Zoetmulder 1982:604).

(11) *wonten pangalasan prapta matur ing sri pramiswari*:
A **pangalasan** [title of royal retainer] arrived to **speak** to the queen (KS: Zoetmulder 1982:775).
(12) *sira dyaksa umatur* aris kasēpen sang ahulun yan pun patih kinen lunga:
   The superintendent *said* gently, Your Majesty will feel abandoned if the Patih [title of chief royal minister] is ordered to go away (KHWj: Zoetmulder 1982:22).

(13) *prapta ken Nindyawati ... umatur, lēmah talampakan ira ingawesa de sri raka nira dewa qaṭêngə mbēnjang rêko:*
   Ken Nindyawati arrived and *said*, you [literally: the earth beneath the sole of your foot] are invited by your elder brother⁴ to come tomorrow (APr: Zoetmulder 1982:172).

(14) *arupa aṈewagara awêdi patik mrēpaki umatur:*
   Like Cewanggara, I [lit. the king’s servant] am afraid to *say* something to you (Td: Zoetmulder 1982:325).

(15) *humaturakēn* [transitive form] *kabhartin i bhātara dharma:*
   He *offered* devotion to the god Dharma (Nag: Zoetmulder 1982:604).

In Modern Javanese, *atur* is a *krama inggil* form (Robson & Wibisono 2002:58). Modern Javanese has three (principal) registers, *ngoko* (familiar), *krama* (honorific/polite), and *krama inggil* (*high* *krama*). *Krama* and *krama inggil* are used when talking to or about persons of elevated status, i.e. the speaker or writer assumes a humble position.

### 2.3 Humble auxiliary: tatematur-

In the following example this humble auxiliary follows the verb ‘to report’ which is one of the meanings of Old Javanese *matur*.

#### 2.3.1 The Western Old Japanese humble auxiliary

*Tatematur*- occurs only once as an auxiliary after the subordinative gerund of the main verb. Vovin remarks that this example is not very reliable because it is in semantographic spelling. There are no cases of *tatematur*- following the infinitive of the main verb as it typically does in Middle (Classical) Japanese. Vovin (2009:1036–8) gives the following examples:

(16)  僕福伊部内少田郡仁黄金出在奏上献
   Kyaupuku-ACT province-GEN inside-GEN WoNta-GEN district-LOC gold-ACC go,OUT(INF)-PERF/PROG-FIN DV say(HUM)-INF-SUB offer(HUM)-PROG-FIN
   ‘Kyaupuku reported that gold had been found on the territory of the province, in the district of WoNta.’ (SM 12)

#### 2.3.2 The Western Old Japanese independent verb.

*Tatematur*- has the same meaning as *matur*- i.e. ‘to present, to offer (to a superior)’ as in the following examples (Vovin 2009:1037–8):

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⁴ In Javanese ‘elder brother’ does not always indicate a sibling or blood relation: it can designate someone of higher rank, and is also used by a wife of her husband.
2.3.3 Eastern Old Japanese
The humble auxiliary tatematuur- is not attested in Eastern Old Japanese.

2.4 Humble auxiliary: mawos-

2.4.1 The Western Old Japanese humble auxiliary.
Mawos- ~ mawus- always follows the infinitive of the main verb. There are several examples of mawos- in phonetic spelling in the *Man’yōshū* and one example of mawus- in the Bussoku seki ka. Vovin remarks that the form mawus- is an ‘apparent Western Old Japanese innovation that is due to the raising of primary *o > u*. The present author suggests an alternative explanation, i.e. that it actually represents the retention of the final vowel in Old Javanese mawarus. Vovin gives the following examples (2009:1044–5):

(20) 美夜故橢提意久利摩遠志弓
miyakko-ma nte okur-i-mawos-i-te
capital-TERM see-off-INF-HUM-INF-SUB
‘[I would] see [you] off to the capital, and ...’ (MYS V: 876)

(21) 可未尔奴佐麻都利伊能里麻乎之弓
kamiy-ni nusa matur-i inōr-i-mawos-i-te
deity-DAT nusa present(HUM)-INF pray-INF-HUM-INF-SUB
‘presenting nusa offerings and praying to the deity’ (MYS XX: 4408)

2.4.2 The Western Old Japanese independent verb.
Mawos- has the meaning ‘to say, to report (to a superior).’ In phonetic spelling it appears in the *Man’yōshū* twice out of five times in its alternative phonetic form mawus-. Vovin (2009: 1045–7) gives the following examples:
(22) 多禮曾意宫麻弊爾麻衰須
tare sō opō mapye-ni mawos-u
who PT great front-DAT say(HUM)-ATTR
‘Who will report to the emperor?’ (KK 97)

(23) 树例柯學能居登激衰磨隆爾麻鳴須
tare ka kōnō kōō o p o mapye-ni mawos-u
who PT this matter great front-DAT say(HUM)-ATTR
‘Who will report this matter to the emperor?’ (NK 75)

(24) 美布弥左須之津乎能登母波加波能瀨麻守勢
miy-pune sa s-u siNtu wo n-ō tōmō pa ka pā-nō se mawus-e
HON-boat punt-ATTR low-class man DV-ATTR fellow TOP river-GEN shallow
say(HUM)-IMP
‘Low-class men, who are punting the imperial boat! Report the shallows in the river.’ (MYS XVIII: 4061)5

(25) 先仁之我奏之事
SAKYI-ni SI-Nka MAWOS-I-si KÔTÔ
before-LOC he-POSS say(HUM)-INF-PAST/ATTR thing
‘things he said before’ (SM 28)

(26) 和氣伊申天在
Wakey-i MAWOS-I-te AR-I
Wake- ACT report(HUM)-INF-SUB exist-FIN
‘[prince] Wake has reported [to us about Nakamarö’s plot].’ (SM 34)

(27) 是位乎授末都良牟等申佐方
KÔNÔ KURAWI-wo SANTUKEY-matur-am-u tō MAWOS-aNpa
this rank-ACC bestow(INF)-HUM-TENT-FIN DV say(HUM)-COND
‘…when [we] told [him] that [we] want to bestow [on him] that rank’ (SM 36)

(28) 法均伊物奏利
POPUKUN-i MÔNÔ MAWOS-Er-i
Popukun- ACT thing say(HUM)-PROG-FIN
‘Popukun was saying speeches.’ (SM 44)

2.4.3 Eastern Old Japanese
There are only two examples of mawos- in Eastern Old Japanese, both of them in independent usage, as follows (Vovin 2009:1048):

5 Vovin remarks that here mawus- is used pejoratively towards the low-class men.
(29) 母呂母呂波佐祁久等麻乎須
mōro-mōro pa sakyu-ku tō mawos-u
all-all TOP safe-INF DV say(HUM)-FIN
‘[I will ask] [the deities] that everybody [would return] safely.’ (MYS XX: 4372)

(30) 阿母志々已等麻乎佐受弓伊麻叙久夜之気
amō sisi-ni kōtō mawos-aNs-u-te ima Nsō kuyas-ke
mother father-DAT word say(HUM)-NEG-INF-SUB now PT regretful-ATTR
‘now [I] regret that [I] did not tell [my] mother and father’ (MYS XX: 4376)

2.4.4 mawos-: the Old Javanese derivation.
The possible candidates for mawos- can be found in the following listing (Zoetmulder 1982: 2339).

i. wuwus, uwus: what is said, words
ii. (m)awuwus (substantive), pawuwus: to speak, say
iii. mowus = mawuwus
iv. amuwus, winuwus, kawuwusan (passive verbal substantive): to speak, speak about, mention, say
v. winuwus (often): spoken about by everyone, famous
vi. wuwusēn, kawuwusa, kawuwusan, kawuwusana: let us now speak about:
vii. winuwusan (passive form): to speak, to address, address with . . . words
viii. winuwusakēn (passive form): to say something, speak about

It seems most probable that the form mawuwus⁶ is the one borrowed into (an antecedent of) Old Japanese, where it subsequently underwent contraction (something that had already occurred in Old Javanese, see mowus above). The sound change u to o was found in the earlier study (Kumar and Rose 2000: 228-32). We can see below that Old Javanese mawuwus is used when reporting the speech of kings, gods, or major religious dignitaries:

(31) mawuwus sri narendrā niwārya:

(32) mawuwus pwa sang pinakāthī:
‘The guest spoke’ (Kor: Zoetmulder 1982:159).

(33) mwang tan palē-palēha ta tan barang-baranga sang narapati mawuwus:

[Note that mawuwus is in final position in this example, whereas in the two preceding examples and in the following one it is in initial position, indicating where the semantic stress falls].

⁶ On the a- or ma- prefix, see Zoetmulder 1983, pp. 34–5.
(34) *mawuwus* Wrhaspati gumanti gumana gaṇa niṅi ring hati: *Wrhaspati spoke*, alternatively calculating in his heart the right conduct (SD: Zoetmulder 1982:484).

(35) *maharṣi mawuwus* sodāhagany ring manah

(36) *mawuwus* bhaṭāra Hariraja ri sira sang iniṅti māsiha:
‘The god Indra spoke to the one who was desired for loving’ (SD: Zoetmulder 1982:596).

In Modern Javanese, *wuwus/mawuwus* is part of the *kawi* or ‘literary’ vocabulary.

### 2.5 Humble auxiliaries 4 and 5: *tamapar-*--*taNpar-* and *tama Pey-*

#### 2.5.1 The Western Old Japanese humble auxiliary.
Vovin notes that the two phonetic variants *tamapar-* and *taNpar-* are text specific. Western Old Japanese *tamapar-* is attested only in the *Senmyō* and in the *Norito*, while the contracted Western Old Japanese form *taNpar-* is limited to the *Man’yōshū* as both an auxiliary and an independent verb. In most cases *tamapar-* is found after the verb *ukey-* ‘to accept, to receive.’ Vovin remarks that since main verbs are always spelled semantographically, we can only conjecture that *tamapar-* follows the infinitive. As an auxiliary *tamapar-* is always spelled either completely or partially semantographically. Western Old Japanese *taNpar-* appears only once as an auxiliary after the negative infinitive *–aNś-u*, which is also spelled semantographically. Vovin (2009:1041–3) gives the following examples:

(37) 不令消賜良牟秋芽子乃字礼和々良葉尔置有白露
KEYT-ANS-U-TANPAR-am-u AKYI PANKIY-nō ure wawara-ni OK-YER-U SIRA TUYU
extinguish-NEG-INF-HUM-SENT-FIN autumn bush.clover-GEN top frayed leaf-LOC put-PROG-ATTR white dew
‘[I] would like [you] not to extinguish the white dew that lies on the top frayed leaves of the autumn bush clover’ (MYS VIII: 1618)

The usage of *taNpar-* in this example is not fully grammaticalized, as literally *KEYT-ANS-U-TANPAR-am-u* means ‘I would humbly receive not-extinguishing.’

(38) 弥経経爾受賜波利行牟物等之矣
IYA TUNK-YI TUNK-YI n-i UKEY-TAMAPar-i-YUK-Am-u MŌNŌ tō s-i-te
more follow-NML follow-NML DV-INF accept(INF)-HUM-INF-SENT-ATTR thing DV do-INF-SUB
‘as a thing that [we] will continue to accept for a greater posterity.’ (SM 9)
2.5.2 The Western Old Japanese independent verb tamapar- ~ taNpar-.

Tamapar- has the meaning ‘to receive’ and it is attested only in the Senmyō. Vovin (2009: 1042–3) gives the following examples:

(41) 劃乃物乎賜方利
MAPYI n-o MÔNÔ-wo TAMAp-ar-i

gift DV-ATTR thing-ACC receive(HUM)-INF

‘receiving the gifts’ (SM 38)

(42) 生天方官位乎賜利
IK-YI-te pa TUKASA KURAWI-wo TAMAP-ar-i
live-INF-SUB TOP office rank-ACC receive(HUM)-INF

‘when [they] live, [they] receive offices [and] ranks, and…’ (SM 45)

(43) 此賜布帯乎多麻波利弓
KÔNÔ TAMAp-u ONPYI-wo tamap-ar-i-te

this give(HON)-ATTR sash-ACC receive(HUM)-INF-SUB

‘receiving these sashes that [I] grant [you]’ (SM 45)

The contracted phonetic variant taNpar- as an independent verb is attested once in phonetic spelling in the Western Old Japanese part of the Man’yōshū:

(44) 波里久路己礼波多婆利奴
pari-N-pukurwo kôre pa taNpar-i-n-u

needle-GEN-bag this TOP receive(HUM)-INF-PERF-FIN

‘Needle bag — this [I] have received’ (MYS XVIII: 4133)

2.5.3 Eastern Old Japanese

In Eastern Old Japanese both tamapar- and taNpar- are attested (once and twice respectively), but only as independent humble verbs. Vovin (2009: 1043–4) gives the following examples:
2.6 Humble auxiliary: tamapey-

2.6.1 The Western Old Japanese humble auxiliary tamapey-.

The humble verb tamapey- is attested as an auxiliary only in the Seminar and it appears exclusively in semantic or partially semantic spelling. Presumably, it follows the infinitive of the main verb, but there is no way to verify this, since the only two verbs it occurs with, omōp- ‘to think’ and kyik- ‘to hear, to listen’, are always spelled completely semantically. Vovin (2009:1039–40) gives the following examples:

(47) 現御神止大八嶋国所有天皇大命麻止詔大命乎集侍胄子等王等 百官人等天下公民諸問食
open-NML-GEN/LOC HON-deity DV great-eight-island-GEN-country rule(HON)-ATTR emperor-POSS great-HON-deity-DAT according DV say(HON)-ATTR great-HON-thing-ACC gather-INF-POL-ATTR prince-PLUR great-lord-PLUR hundred office person-PLUR heaven-GEN under-GEN people many-many listen-INF-HUM-IMP
‘Princes, lords, officials of hundred offices, and the common people of the land, all of you listen to the Great Edict according to the emperor – the Great Deity who rules the Great Country of Eight Islands as a Manifest Deity’ (SM 1)

(48) 成奴礼波欲美貴不已毛念食流
NAR-I-n-ure-Npa KÔKÔRÔNPOSI-myi TAPUTWO-myi namwo OMÔP-YI-TAMAP-Uru
become-INF-PERF-EV-CON glad-GER awesome-GER PT think-INF-HUM-ATTR
‘Because [it] became [as the deity said], [the sovereign] thought that [it] was joyful and awesome’ (SM 15)

(In this example the action of the sovereign is marked as humble in reverence to the deity.)
(49) 本乃大臣位仁仕奉之武流事手諸関食止宜
MÖTÖ-nō OPOMAPETUKYIMI-NÖ KURAWI-ni TUKAPEY-MATUR-Asim-uru
KÖTÖ-wo MÖRÖ-MÖRÖ KYIK-YI-TAMAPEY-YÖ tō NÖTAMAP-U
root-GEN minister-GEN position-LOC serve(INF)-HUM-CAUS-ATTR matter-ACC all-all

listen-INF-HUM-IMP DV say(HON)-FIN

‘[We] deign to say: “Everyone listen to the fact that [we] make Tōyōnari serve [again] in [his] previous position of the minister”’ (SM 28)

(50) 詔己止乎諸関食倍
NÖRITAMAP-U kōtō-wo MÖRÖ-MÖRÖ KYIK-YI-TAMApey
say(HON)-ATTR thing-ACC all-all listen-INF-HUM(IMP)
‘all [of you] listen to what [I] proclaim’ (SM 36)

2.6.2 The Western Old Japanese independent verb tamapey-.

Tamapey- has the meaning ‘to receive’ or ‘to drink.’ The following examples from the Man’yōshū do not involve receiving something from a deity or an emperor. The first example just involves an acquaintance and the second a male lover whose soul a female lover receives in a ritual.

(51) 古人乃令食有吉備能酒
PURU PYTÖ-nō TAMAPEY-SIMEY-TAR-U KyiNpiy-nō SAKKEY
old person-GEN receive(HUM)-CAUS(INF)-PERF/PROG-ATTR KyiNpiy-GEN rice.wine

‘The rice wine of KyiNpiy that an old acquaintance gave [me] (lit.: made [me] receive)’ (MYS IV: 554)

(52) 多麻之比波安之多由布敵尔多麻布礼枝安我牟祢伊多之
tamasipi y pa asita yupu pye-ni tamap-ure-Ntō a-Nka mune ita-si
soul TOP morning evening side-LOC receive(HUM)-EV-CONC I-POSS chest painful-FIN

‘Although [I] receive [your] soul in the mornings and in the evening, my heart hurts’
(MYS XV: 3767)

(53) 赤丹乃保仁多末倍
AKA NI-nō po-ni tamapey
red soil-COMP cheek-LOC drink(HUM)(INF)
‘drinking until [your] cheeks [will be] like red soil’ (SM 38)

2.6.3 Eastern Old Japanese

There is only one example of tamapey- in Eastern Old Japanese, in independent usage (Vovin 2009:1041):

(54) 美都乎多麻倍奈伊毛多太手欲
myiNnu-wo tamapey-na imwo-Nka taNia TE-ywo
water-ACC receive(HUM)-DES beloved-POSS directly hand-ABL

‘[I] wish to receive the water directly from your hands’ (MYS XIV: 3439)
2.6.4 Tamapar~taNpar- and tamapey~: the Old Javanese derivation.

Both of these Old Japanese verbs can be derived from forms of the Old Javanese verb *tampa* (Zoetmulder 1982:1921–2).

Again, this verb – whose core meaning is ‘to receive’/’to accept’ – is used in contexts of hierarchy and status: it can mean to carry, on the palms of the hands, royal regalia, or it can be used in a request from a person of lower rank that his offerings to a person of higher rank be accepted.

i. *anampa, tinampa*: to carry on the palm of the hands, to support in this way (esp. of the paraphernalia carried in state in front of a person of high rank); to receive (on the hands) to accept

ii. *tumampa*: to come down, descend; to accept

iii. *tumampe*’ (tumampani): to come down on

iv. *anampani, tinampan*: 1. to receive, accept 2. (= *anampa*) to carry (on the hands)

v. *tinampaken* (-in- passive form): to bring down, give?

vi. *nanampan* salver

Here are some examples:

(55) *tumampe*:

pĕjahi ng angiahit tribhuwana /panahta tumampaneng kapanasan kabez kapana teki yan lēkasana:

‘Kill the one who fouls the Three Worlds/ may your arrow be received – all will be overcome by heat if it is carried out.’ (RY: Zoetmulder 1982:1922).

(This is a quotation from the Rāmāyana, in which Rāma, an incarnation of the god Visnu, must kill the demonic Kāla, the ‘fouler of the Three Worlds’.)

(56) *tampanana* (passive arcalis):

lah tampanana pasungsunge bapa iki:


(57) *tumampa*:

pinda kemêngan dera tumampa pangasi paduka parameswara:

[He felt] as if wounded in accepting the benevolent favour of the Supreme Ruler (WW: Zoetmulder 1982:1921).

(58) *tinampa*:

[ajña] sampun tinampa de ning rama desa:

[The order] was received by the village head (Tk: Zoetmulder 1982:1922).

(59) *anampa*:

raden mantri anampa krenda kancana:

The Lord Minister received a gold bowl (KHWj: Zoetmulder 1982:1921).

7 The final vowel of this form is a *sandhi* formed from the final *a* of the base and the verbal suffix –*i*. 
The above examples show the high status context, involving gods and rulers, and offerings to high status guests, in which we find this word used.

It appears that the forms tumampa and tumampe were the ones borrowed into an antecedent of Old Japanese. Old Javanese tumampa becomes tamapar and Old Javanese tumampe becomes tamapey. I am assuming that Old Javanese syllable-coda ʰ is analogous to Old Javanese syllable-coda ʰ which is either dropped or resyllabified (see Kumar and Rose 2000: 234-5). There are two sound changes yet to be explained: the final /r/ and the /u/ to /a/ shift. The latter seems to be in the reverse direction from what might be considered ‘natural’ though as we do not know if the /u/ was rounded or unrounded it is hard to be certain.

2.7 Humble auxiliary: mawi

2.7.1 The Western Old Japanese humble auxiliary
Mawi- follows the infinitive either of a main verb or of another auxiliary. As an auxiliary it is attested only three times: twice in the same poem that appears both in the Kojiki kayō and the Nihonshoki kayō in phonetic spelling and once in the Senmyō in semantographic spelling. Vovin (2009: 1048-9) gives the following example:

(60) 紀古佐美朝臣等伊敗軍費粮豆還參来
  KIY-NŌ KwoSAMYI-NŌ ASWOMYI-RA-i … IKUSA YABUR-I KATE-WO
  TUPYTYAS-I-te KAPYER-I-MAWI-K-YI-T-U
Kiy-GEN Kwasamyi-GEN retainer-PLUR-ACT…army destroy-INF food supply-ACC
exhaust-INF-SUB come.back-INF-HUM(INF)-come-INF-PERF-FIN
‘Retainer Kiy-nō Kwasamyi and others, came back losing the army and exhausting food supplies.’ (SM 62)

2.7.2 The Western Old Japanese independent verb.
Mawi- has the meaning ‘to go,’ ‘to come’. Vovin (2009: 1049) gives the following examples:

(61) 夜保許毛麻為泥許之登吉
  ya pokō mwot-i mawi-[i] Na-te-kō-si tokiyi
eight spear hold-INF come(HUM)(INF)-exit(INF)-come(INF)-PAST/ATTR time
‘when [he] came back out holding eight spears.’ (MYS XVIII: 4111)

(62) 弥夜故毘尔末為之和我世
  miyakwo pe-i mawi-si wa-Nka se
capital side-LOC come(HUM)(INF)-PAST/ATTR I-POSS beloved
‘my beloved who came to the capital’ (MYS XVIII: 4116)

(63) 伊夜麻之尔安礼波麻為許牟
  iya mas-i n-i are pa mawi-kō-m-u
more increase-NML DV-INF I TOP come(HUM)(INF)-come-TENT-FIN
‘[I] would like to come even more’ (MYS XX: 4298)
However there is one example where the humble verb mawi is translatable as ‘bring’ (Bentley 2001:210):

(64) 本末打切弓持参来弓
    MOTO SUWE UTI-KYIR-Ite MOT-I MAWI K-Yite
    base tip PV-cut-GER hold-INF HON-INF come-GER
    ‘cut the base and top [of big and small trees] and respectfully bring them here’ (from the liturgies)

2.7.3 Eastern Old Japanese
There is only one example of mawi- in Eastern Old Japanese, in independent usage:

(65) 知々波々乎以波比弊等於抆豆麻為抆抆尔之乎
    titi papa-wo ipap-yi pye tō ok-yi-te mawi-[i]Nte-k-yi-n-i-si-wo
    father mother-ACC pray-NML jar place-INF-SUB come(HUM)-INF-exit(INF)-come-INF-
    PERF-INF-PAST/ATTR-ACC
    ‘[I] left [my] father and mother [precious] as a sacrificial jar, and came out [here as a border-guard], but…’ (MYS XX: 4393)

Vovin suggests that this word may be related to Old Ryukyuan mafe, to go to pray (Vovin 2009:1050). This is the sole Japonic cognate suggested by Vovin for any of the humble auxiliaries, nor does he suggest any external, non-Japonic source for any of them. This strengthens the hypothesis that they represent borrowings, and not from Korean.

2.7.4 mawi: the Old Javanese verb.
In Old Javanese mawi is a variant of mawa, and both are derived from the base wawa. In Old Javanese there are many verbs and nouns where the final vowel alternates between –a and –i, the latter being the more elevated or literary form. In Modern Javanese the –i ending is an indicator of the krama form. As noted above, modern Javanese has three (main) registers, ngoko (familiar), krama (honorific/polite), and krama inggil (‘high’ krama), with krama and krama inggil used when talking to or about persons of elevated status. In Modern Javanese mawi is the krama form of the verb mawa.

Zoetmulder (1982: 225-7) lists the following forms:

i.  wawa, amawa, (u)mawa [alternative form mawi], winawa: 1. to carry, carry along, take along, bring (also of feelings and qualities) 2. to have power over, control, rule, command; (also without object) to be in command, a ruler 3. (with ambēk, awak) to conduct oneself with composure

ii. kawawa: 1. carried (in)to > to reach unintentionally, get into, find oneself in 2. carried away, carried along together with

iii. wawan: what is carried, load, cargo, vessel, carrier, container, setting (of a jewel)

iv. awawan: carrying, bringing along; in a setting of, contained in

v. winawan [pf]: to give a wawan to hold in?

vi. pamawan: the place one takes something to or puts something in, target, carrier

Here are some examples illustrative of the contexts in which this verb is used:
mawi
(66) Ken P. amawi pawohan

mawa, umawa
(67) marong gŕha ri paryangan mawa hano gawe sayu-sayut:
    they went to the sanctuary dedicated to the god bringing aren palms to make offerings
    to ward off misfortune (KD: Zoetmulder 1982:585).

(68) umawa tangisnya humis ta luhnya:

(69) denya mawa runnya:
    the way she carries her beauty (Aw: Zoetmulder 1982: 2225).

Thus in Old Javanese a majority of examples have the sense ‘bring’, and a minority ‘come’,
while in Old Japanese it is the other way round. Of course ‘bring’ and ‘come’ share
significant semantic ground – as put by the Oxford English dictionary (http://www.oed.com/):

“bring: to cause to come along with oneself; to fetch. It includes ‘lead’ or ‘conduct’ (French
amener) as well as ‘carry’ (French apporter); it implies motion towards the place where the speaker
or auditor is, or is supposed to be, being in sense the causative of come.”

Once again, this word is associated with status and ritual, as in the above examples referring
to ritual accessories such as betel sets (in the case of high-status persons these were typically
finely crafted examples of expensive metals) and to sanctuaries dedicated to gods.

2.8 Discussion
There is a quite remarkable closeness in both phonological form and in meaning between the
Old Japanese and Old Javanese verbs. There are no Austronesian cognates for the Old
Javanese verbs, and there are no Ural-Altaic cognates for any of the Old Japanese verbs. Nor
are any of the Old Javanese verbs from Sanskrit. Thus these Old Japanese and Old Javanese
words are each other’s only relatives. This set of verbs, which were grammaticalized as
auxiliaries in Old Japanese, denote as independent verbs the basic transactions of human
society – speaking, reporting, presenting/answering, receiving, coming and bringing. Their
grammaticalization as humble auxiliaries introduces an element of status difference in all
these transactions. Thus the incorporation of these verbs into the structure of the Japanese
language underlines the major social transformation that took place in the Jōmon-Yayoi
transition with its introduction of a hierarchy of iron.

3. Other morphosyntactic areas for investigation
I do not believe that the development of these humble auxiliary verbs was the only
morphosyntactic influence of (an antecedent of) Old Javanese on (an antecedent of) Old
Japanese. A preliminary inspection suggests that some attention should be paid to verbal
affixes, and to particles, whether case-marking or discourse, though investigation of the latter
will be difficult due to the lack of agreement among scholars concerning the function of these particles whether in Old Japanese or in Old Javanese. (Notwithstanding this generalization, the ‘desiderative particle’ moga appears to be a relatively clear-cut case.)

Though this has been a preliminary and necessarily incomplete examination, it provides enough evidence to indicate that this case conforms to Donohue’s generalisation that in cases of a numerically small but dominant ‘intruder’ population, the local language will acquire a morphosyntax overlay (Donohue 2012 forthcoming).

4. Explaining the Javanese element in Japanese

4.1 The context for the Japanese evidence

One of the reasons why many people have such a hard time with the whole idea of a Javanese influence on early Japan is that the academic world is so full of misleading information about Javanese history. Java fits badly into the two academic boxes into which it is generally forced, i.e. the ‘Austronesian’ and the ‘Southeast Asian’ categories. Geertz places it into the category of the Southeast Asian ‘Indic’ polity, the negara (Geertz 1980:5)⁸. This is by no means the only example in academic writings of the assumption that the Javanese kingdom and Great Tradition are Indic constructions and postdate the first Sanskrit inscriptions, which do not appear (that is to say, none are extant) until c. 400 CE. As the ‘humble auxiliaries’ reveal, the central concepts of the Javanese hierarchy are Javanese, not Sanskrit, and as I shall explain below, a highly developed society greatly predated the period of the earliest surviving inscriptions.

4.2 Indonesian technology and shipping

Already by 1000 BCE we find in the area of what is now Indonesia Austronesian speakers with highly sophisticated Bronze-Iron societies – not just Neolithic agricultural societies – whose archaeological remains include luxuries like gold objects, evidence of a wealthy society with an elite class (Bellwood 1997:219-54). It is here that we see the emergence of powerful kingdoms exercising dominion over extensive tracts of land, polities that saw the development of sophisticated nautical technologies making possible extensive ocean-going voyages.

Chinese accounts tell us that Southeast Asians already had very large, very fast ships by the early centuries CE. A third century Chinese account says that large po (the word used by the Chinese to describe Southeast Asian ships) are more than 50 metres long and stand out of the water four to five metres, carrying from six to seven hundred persons, with 10,000 bushels of cargo [according to various interpretations anywhere between 250 to 1,000 tons] (for further detail see Kumar 2009:72). In striking contrast, China itself did not possess ocean-going ships before the eighth or ninth centuries CE.

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⁸ Geertz also claims that the Javanese court was a ‘theatre state’ interested in ‘pomp’, not power, in contrast to the West where pomp is merely the servant of power – a pronouncement wholly at odds with Java’s unabashedly battle-centred courts, its naval expeditions and establishment of dominion as far afield as Champa (where they were ritually re-enacted as late as the twentieth century) and the Khmer kingdom.
4.3 The China-Mediterranean seaway and Indonesian states

The societies of what is now Indonesia were intimately linked, from very early times, to trade networks that reached far beyond the Austronesian domain, to China at one extreme and to Rome at the other. Indonesian involvement in these trade links also had a powerful stimulating effect on state formation in Indonesia (see also Bellwood et al. 2011:37 and Simanjuntak 2011:44).

Archaeologists estimate that the earliest trade routes of the Indian Ocean developed about 5000 years ago between the Indus Valley and the Persian Gulf. It is clear that by the late centuries BCE Southeast Asia was already part of a world trading system linking the civilizations of the Mediterranean Basin and Han China (Bellina & Glover 2004:83). Wiseman Christie describes an ‘explosion’ of trading activity between about 500 and 200 BCE in the Malacca Straits and in the Java Sea, due to the rise of substantial elites in southern China and parts of India, forming a ready market for high-status commodities and medicinal substances. This trade stimulated the spread of advanced metallurgical techniques and political consolidation in island Southeast Asia, a region already tied into maritime trade networks of considerable antiquity and with an exceptionally well-developed marine technology and considerable navigational experience. The Javanese states had large-scale distribution systems, exported local crops, handled the spices of the eastern islands, and manufactured metal objects of fine workmanship, such as bronze axes, which were traded to other islands. This trade fed into Indian trade to the West, and it seems likely that the carriers of much of this trade were from the area of present-day Malaysia and Indonesia. Cloves were already known in China in the third century BCE and were described by Pliny in the first century CE (Bellina & Glover 2004:69). Ancient Egyptian, Phoenician, and Hebrew sources dating from the late second millennium and early first millennium BCE refer to the importation of cinnamon from the East (Taylor 1976:38–9).

The second stage in the process of state formation in maritime Southeast Asia seems to have occurred between about 200 BCE and 300 CE. This is substantially coterminous with the Yayoi period, when the Javanese settlement in Japan is deduced to have taken place. At this period the coastal polities of Java and its neighbours were drawn into more direct contact with the major empires of the time and became both a link in the chain and a supplier of the first great Old World trading system which coalesced in the first century CE. As Beaujard (2005: 411–465) points out, Wallerstein forged the concept of the world-system in relation to the modern era of European dominance, whereas in fact the creation of an Eurasian and African world-system can be traced much further back in time, specifically to the first century CE. It had three linked sub-systems – the China Sea, the eastern Indian Ocean and the western Indian Ocean. The favoured coasts of this system included the north coasts of Java and Bali and the coast of central Vietnam (Wiseman Christie 1995:277–79).

Looking specifically at Java, the earliest inscriptions there are those of the kingdom of Taruma. They are four stone inscriptions erected by Pūrnavarman, king of the realm of Taruma9, dated on the basis of the script to 450 CE. One inscription commemorated the construction of waterworks of considerable scope involving the diversion of a river. In this region archaeologists have identified eight settlement sites, five of which are from the Bronze-Iron Age. On the basis of carbon-14 analysis three metal-age sites in this area were dated between 1000 BCE and 500 CE. This was an advanced bronze-iron culture: one site

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9 This name still survives today in the name of the river Ci Tarum.
revealed gold ornaments, along with other finds such as bronze and iron artefacts, bracelets made of stone and glass, beads, a quadrangular adze, and a multitude of earthenware objects in a variety of forms and sizes. We have no way of knowing when the kingdom of Taruma was first established. It was however certainly built on old foundations, as is evident from the archaeological investigations going back to 1000 BCE (see also Fontein 1990:101). As the toponyms Taruma and Tarumi were introduced into different regions of Japan, it would appear that people from this kingdom played a significant role in the introduction of a technologically advanced society in the Yayoi period.

5. Concluding remarks

I hope that the above has shown why the humble auxiliaries are far from insignificant when it comes to understanding the major changes of the Yayoi period. If there is one area in which the discipline of linguistics brilliantly illuminates an otherwise dim subject, it is for periods in the distant past where there were many new things happening, of which the records no longer exist. We can tell from the DNA that there was an Indonesian presence in just such a period in the history of Japan, and we can tell quite a lot more from the material goods and from the presence of Javanese rice. But when it comes to learning about the way the hunter-gatherer Jōmon were inducted into a hierarchical agrarian society, and understanding the now dominant social and political values, how particularly revealing is the evidence of the loanwords and the humble auxiliaries!

And finally, paraphrasing the typical colophon of a Javanese author, I ask the reader’s forgiveness for presuming to submit such a wretched and unlearned scribble.

Texts: Old Japanese
KK Kojiki kayō, 712 CE
MYS Man’yōshū, ca. 759 CE
NK Nihonshoki kayō, 720 CE
SM Senmyō, 7-8th century
SNK Shoku nihongi kayō

Texts: Old Javanese
Apr Arjuna Pra labda
AWj Arjunawijaya
BK Bhomakawya, Bhomantaka
GK Ghatotkačāśraya
HWj Hariwijaya
KD Kāṇḍawawana dahana
KHWj Kidung Harsa-Wijaya
Kor Korawāśrama
KS Kidung Sunda
Nag Nāgarakṛtāgama
RL (Kidung) Rangga Lawe
RY Rāmāyaṇa
SD Smaradahana
Sor Sorandaka
Sut Sutasoma
Td Tantri (Dèmung)
Tk Tantri (Kaḍiri)
TP Tantu Paggelaran
WW Wangbang Wideya
References


